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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with a case study of secondary curriculum diversification as a vocationalization strategy in Sierra Leone. It explores diversification issues from four crucial standpoints that are distinct but highly interrelated. First, diversification is dealt with as a policy that was adopted and actively pursued by Sierra Leone for over a decade, but that has now acquired something of a "latent policy" status. Second, diversification is examined as a major project designed and implemented under the first and second Sierra Leone Government/International Development Agency Education Projects. Third, diversification is dealt with as an on-going practice that has always existed and continues to exist in a multiplicity of forms throughout Sierra Leone's education system. Finally, diversification is re-examined as a crucial educational goal that is intimately linked to national development aspiration and that therefore needs to be pursued relentlessly, though not necessarily through high-profile, high-cost projects. An important contention of the paper is that failure to distinguish between different senses of diversification (as policy, project, or practice) as well as a poor understanding of the links between these different senses, often lead to false judgments, undue pessimism, and premature disillusionment with curriculum diversification. (YLB)

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CURRICULUM DIVERSIFICATION RE-EXAMINED
- A CASE STUDY OF SIERRA LEONE

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Curriculum Diversification Re-examined
- A case study of Sierra Leone

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Curriculum Diversification Re-examined

- A case study of Sierra Leone

Cream A. H. Wright

1. Introduction

Education systems in Africa are continuously being subjected to all manner of innovations and reforms, which are often aimed at promoting socio-economic development. A particularly striking example is the attempt to "vocationalise" education through such means as diversifying the curriculum in general schools or establishing fully "vocational" schools. Given the post-independence dearth of skilled manpower for industrialisation, and the allegedly "academic" nature of prevailing educational programmes, the idea of vocationalising education was so pregnant with promise that it became at once irresistible and inevitable for most African countries. Not only did it hold out the promise of gearing education to providing the necessary manpower for industrial development, but it was also said to offer possibilities for "non-academic" pupils to develop their full potential, while ensuring also that general education becomes a much more balanced learning experience involving the hands as well as the mind. With such sound rationale to commend it vocationalisation soon became a major priority of most African countries, with considerable international expertise and financial support being brought into play to achieve this highly desirable goal. Alas, after almost two decades of

expert advice/activity and unprecedented external support by way of resources and training, the promises of vocationalisation appear to be largely unfulfilled. Indeed it now seems that vocationalisation might after all be simply an illusion which is far too expensive to pursue and rather unlikely to yield the expected outcomes.(1) Yet the lure of vocationalisation still persists, and despite much disappointment over past efforts, most African countries still attach great importance to some form of vocationalisation in education.(2) Unfortunately this resilience has not been matched by a continued willingness on the part of bi-lateral and international agencies to provide further support for vocationalisation. The implication then is that African countries would need to work out their own modalities and marshall their own resources if they wish to continue efforts at vocationalising education. In these circumstances the need to re-examine this "elusive panacea" of vocationalisation takes on renewed urgency and special significance.

In their relentless search for generalisable solutions to the educational problems of developing countries, bi-lateral and international agencies can afford to "write-off" major policies and projects, inspite of substantial investments already made, and then commit resources anew to a different set of policies and project which are judged to be more promising. In contrast every developing country needs to be much more resolute about its own major educational policies

especially when, as in the case of vocationalisation, such policies are regarded as fundamental to national development goals. This does not mean that a country should stubbornly adhere to a particular educational policy regardless of all contrary evidence. It does imply however that negative project evaluations do not constitute sufficient grounds for abandoning a major educational policy. In these matters a project is essentially a mechanism for transforming policy into practice. Thus if certain projects are judged to have failed this does not mean that the related policy is faulty or unsound; the problem might well be with project design or project implementation; or even project evaluation.

Against this background the present paper is concerned with a case study of secondary curriculum diversification as a vocationalisation strategy in Sierra Leone. It seeks to analyse historical antecedents and contemporary issues with a view to highlighting a wide range of factors which have an important bearing on diversification. In this regard the paper explores diversification issues from four crucial standpoints which are distinct but highly inter-related. Firstly diversification is dealt with as a policy which was adopted and actively pursued by Sierra Leone for well over a decade, but which has now acquired something of a "latent policy" status.(3) Secondly diversification is examined as a major project designed and implemented under the 1st and 2nd Sierra Leone Government/IDA Education Projects.(4) The third sense in which diversification

is dealt with is an an on-going practice which has always existed and continues to exist is a multiplicity of non-spectacular forms throughout Sierra Leone's education system. Finally diversification is re-examined as a crucial educational goal which is intimately linked to national development aspirations, and which therefore needs to be pursued relentlessly, though not necessarily through high-profile,high-cost projects. An important contention of this paper is that failure to distinguish between different senses of diversification (as policy, project or practice), as well as a poor understanding of the links between these different senses, often lead to false judgements, undue pessimism and premature disillusionment with curriculum diversification.

2. Diversification As Policy

An educational policy is essentially a statement of intent encompassing a sense of direction and an indication of priorities regarding future action and allocation of resources in education. Thus when the Sierra Leone Government declared in the White Paper of 1970 that diversification of the secondary curriculum was a major policy,(5) it was reasonable to assume that substantial resources and concerted action would be devoted to diversification; and that a significant proportion of external assistance sought by the government would be in connection with diversification. By the same token it was also reasonable to expect that other aspects of educational development would receive relatively less priority in terms of resources and efforts. Policy therefore entails not only a

strong commitment to the pursuit of certain educational objectives, but also implies an accompanying willingness to sacrifice, or at least temporarily suspend, the intense pursuit of some other educational objectives. This dual aspect of policy has great importance for a proper understanding of curriculum diversification as an educational policy in Sierra Leone. On the one hand the policy of diversification could be understood in somewhat functionalist terms, whereby the government decides on a policy of diversification to provide manpower for development, and external funding agencies are sufficiently responsive to provide substantial support for the policy.(6) This is a dangerously misleading picture which often makes us believe that we have given diversification our best shot in terms of government priority and bi-lateral/international support, without much tangible benefits. In contrast a more insightful understanding and more realistic picture of the diversification policy emerges when fundamental questions pertaining to the politics of educational policy are raised. Who in fact makes policy? What are the main factors or considerations which influence policy formulation? How and why do such influences come into play?

The most important fact to emerge in response to this type of investigation is that, diversification of the secondary curriculum was not so much a policy formulated by the government as one thrust upon it by the World Bank in connection with the 1st Sierra Leone Government/IDA Education Project.(7) This is not to imply any sinister motive on the part of the Bank,

since it advocated diversification to African countries in line with what was then the most progressive thinking regarding development strategies.(8) Moreover the compulsive logic and rationale for diversification was readily accepted by Sierra Leone as it had presumably been by many other developing countries in which the Bank was already providing support for diversification. Importantly however, because diversification was perceived as a somewhat generalisable solution to the problems of developing countries, the Bank's advocacy of a diversification policy was not rooted in the peculiar realities of the Sierra Leone situation. More significantly, although the Sierra Leone Government was willing to go along with diversification as an important aspect of its educational development strategy, it was not quite prepared to sacrifice some of its other educational goals in the name of diversification. Indeed some of these other educational goals were regarded as even more important than diversification. The fact is that at independence Sierra Leone found itself entangled in a complex web of rather ambitious educational aspirations such as expansion of the system at all levels, democratisation of educational opportunities, universal primary education in the shortest possible time, qualitative improvements to the education system, and improved linkage between education and national development. Unfortunately however Sierra Leone at the time lacked not only the financial resources to fund such ambitious aspirations, but also lacked the necessary planning expertise to orchestrate these aspirations into some pragmatic order of priority and formulate educational policies accordingly. It therefore

obtained external assistance firstly for a survey of education in relation to economic development,[9] and subsequently for the services of an education planning expert to help prepare a detailed proposal for external funding of educational development in Sierra Leone.[10] The latter report highlighted the need for substantial expansion of educational enrolment[11] complemented by improvements in the quality of education, provision of classroom accommodation, adequate teacher training, and equal opportunity for children in rural areas. With specific reference to secondary education, the report recommended provision for -

> "Doubling the intake; diversifying the curriculum with increased provision for technical and vocational training; controlling the output to meet the needs of teacher training at all levels; providing sufficient entrants for Fourah Bay College, Njala University College and Teacher Training Colleges, and for employment."(12)

This type of all-embracing approach to educational development reflects the complexity of Government's educational aspirations, and it is quite clear that although considerable importance is attached to diversification there is nothing to indicate a willingness to pursue it at the expense of other goals. Indeed diversification is simply a single element within a package of priorities which formed the basis of Sierra Leone's initial proposal submitted to the World Bank for the First Sierra Leone Government/IDA Education Project. The Bank's reaction was unfavourable as is evident from such statements as -

> "The proposed project comprised substantial expansion of general secondary, technical, vocational and teacher training capacity which the Bank's late 1965 appraisal mission judged premature in the absence of basic manpower and sector planning data. In particular, the Bank questioned planned expansion of secondary education in view of increasing unemployment among mainly academic secondary school leavers."(13)

In contrast to the all-embracing package submitted by Sierra Leone, the World Bank advocated and eventually approved a circumscribed package centred on quality improvements for a small number of existing institutions, and providing for

> "... modernisation and diversification of facilities (mainly through construction of laboratories and workshops) at 11 secondary schools; modernisation and expansion of facilities at one technical and three trade schools; reconstruction of the country's one in-service primary teacher training college; and selected technical assistance inputs."(14)

Project negotiations between the Bank and Sierra Leone was a long drawn-out affair lasting almost five years (1965 - 69) and requiring an unprecedented number of full appraisals.(15) The Bank attributed this to Sierra Leone's lack of planning expertise and general inexperience with IDA preparation requirements(16) which resulted in inadequate detailing and justification of proposed project content. From the Sierra Leone Government's viewpoint however, there were much more crucial reasons to do with conflicts in policy priorities as well as the size and scope of the project, rather than with the technalities of project preparation. Evidently the Government's priority of expansion coupled with qualitative improvements and diversification contrasted with the Bank's perception of appropriate policies and strategies for educational development in Sierra Leone. Ultimately the package recommended by the Bank prevailed by virtue of what can be described as "funding power" - He who pays the piper calls the tune! It could be argued therefore that high priority on diversification was not really a matter

of Government's preference but much more an offer that the Government was constrained to accept. Indeed the fact that Government's diversification policy (1970 White Paper) was outlined after the World Bank project had been "agreed" upon suggests that the policy itself was a "fait accompli" in line with World Bank terms for project funding. Undoubtedly diversification was always an important educational concern in Sierra Leone. Equally so, diversification and other qualitative changes have always been regarded simply as necessary adjuncts to a major programme of educational expansion.

As a policy then diversification was enveloped in considerable controversy and ambivalence. Once the policy had been adopted considerable support and enthusiasm for diversification was shown by Government Officials and school administrators, so that it increasingly became a genuine policy of the Government. On the other hand there was a distinct reluctance to sacrifice or even curtail the pursuit of other educational priorities in the interest of diversification. Particularly as regards expansion of educational enrolment, Sierra Leone officials felt that the Bank had imposed unacceptable constraints and accused IDA of implicitly attempting

> "to influence Government policy in a highly sensitive area where social pressures cannot be ignored."(17)

The crucial point in all this is that such controversy and its resulting ambivalence has profound consequences for policy implementation. On the one hand commitment to diversification

as an exclusive priority and a willingness to curtail action on other goals implies an expectation that policy implementation will be finite, with a clear beginning and end. In these circumstances policy implementation could reasonably be expected to correspond with the life-span of one or more projects. On the other hand if diversification is treated simply as one element in a package of priorities then the implied expectation is that policy implementation will be on-going, evolutionary and long-term. Against this background it could be argued that the World Bank approach implies that policy implementation is equatable to project implementation. Hence the Bank feels justified in making profound judgements about diversification policy on the basis of its evaluation of diversification projects.(18) In contrast the logical implication of the approach taken by the Sierra Leone Government is that implementation of a diversification policy will be a gradual long-term matter beyond the confines of one or two projects.(19) Indeed the Sleight Report, which formed the basis of Government's initial request to the World Bank, advocates a reorientation of secondary education towards a more practical and vocational bias, but makes it clear that this is essentially a gradual long-term process.

> "This change will not immediately be reflected in national percentages, but it should establish a change of direction."(20)

In these circumstances a project is simply a finite episode in the life of a policy, and while feedback from project evaluation is important for reviewing policy it is most unwise to base major policy judgements on the outcomes of one or two projects. Quite clearly there has been a significant failure in many

quarters to distinguish between diversification as policy and diversification as project. Consequently project evaluation has been allowed to play an unduely decisive role in the decline of support for diversification policy. While most African countries still have an instinctive belief in the importance of diversification, there is now a curious reluctance to use local funding or request external assistance for this purpose. The adverse economic situation in these countries probably makes it inevitable that their policy options will list withersoever the funding wind blowethi

The case of Sierra Leone has demonstrated that funding agencies and recipient countries sometimes operate at cross-purposes over policy, with bizzare consequences for implementation. Thus while the World Bank was apparently trying to ensure that the diversification policy would be reasonably well implemented within the life-span of one or two major projects, Sierra Leoneans were inadvertantly detracting from this thrust by using every opportunity during project appraisal and implementation, to inject elements of educational expansion and improvement of academic content into the 1st Project.(21) Indeed the persistence with which Sierra Leoneans sought to inject other priorities into the project was such that by the time of the 2nd Project they were able to negotiate a project package within which diversification became simply one of several priorities.(22) This type of "Distortion" during implementation makes diversification more of a long-term prospect than originally intended.

3. Diversification As Project

As a mechanism for policy implementation a project will have clearly defined objectives, and the business of project design will be concerned with ensuring that the requisite expertise and supporting resources are effectively and efficiently harnessed towards the attainment of these objectives. Obviously project objectives must have a strong bearing and logical link with the policy in question, but more importantly project design must be sufficiently realistic and pragmatic to ensure successful implementation. In Sierra Leone the objective of diversifying secondary education was stated as

> "... to prepare secondary school leavers better for employment through provision of facilities and curriculum revision specialists necessary to diversify and modernise programmes;"(23)

Project design should therefore be expected to ensure that diversified programmes can be made to take root and become an integral part of the secondary education system. Amongst other things this requires substantial knowledge of the existing secondary school system and insight into the possibilities for diversified programmes being made to take root, as well as some understanding of possible strategies through which this can be brought about.

Against this background several features of project design and implementation have undoubtedly had a crucial influence on the outcome of the 1st and 2nd diversification projects. Firstly there tended to be far too much concentration on civil

works and equipment, at the expense of programme development and personnel training.(24) The Bank appeared to have an obsessive concern with equipment, civil works and the attendant formalities of tenders, contract packages, etc. It was probably assumed that once physical facilities and equipment had been provided the curriculum issue could be resolved either by adopting standard programmes or developing new ones. In any case little attention was given to the content of a diversified curriculum beyond an implicit assumption that it would include what King(25) has called the inevitable cluster of subjects i.e. Woodwork and Metalwork. Sierra Leoneans also appeared to be strongly concerned with civil works and equipment rather than programme development.(26) This was undoubtedly due in part to lack of knowledge and experience relating to technical/vocational subjects and the general mechanics of developing diversified programmes. Understandably also Sierra Leoneans were anxious that tangible and concrete benefits should be derived from the World Bank loan used to fund these projects. Hence buildings and equipment held much greater attraction than programme development.

Secondly the selection of project schools for both 1st and 2nd projects appeared to be based on elitist and political grounds rather than on educational considerations. Substantial pressure was apparently exerted for schools in politically favoured regions and prestigeous secondary schools with sound academic track record and a somewhat elitist status to benefit from project investments. In terms of good design one would

expect project schools to be selected so as to maximise the chances of successfully implementing a diversification project. Where this has not been done, it is doubtful whether serious value should be attached to evaluative studies which attempt to compare outcomes from project schools with those from so-called control schools.

Thirdly the training of Technical and Commercial teachers to implement diversified programmes in the schools was surprisingly neglected during the 1st project. Although this was later remedied by the establishment of a Technical and Business Education Department at Milton Margai Teachers College, the neglect does reflect an underlying conviction that diversification is essentially about buildings and equipment rather than teacher training and curriculum development.

Fourthly, when some attention was eventually given to the content of diversified programmes this resulted in greater confusion than ever before. While most project schools still operated mediocre versions of traditional craft-based syllabuses in Woodwork and Metalwork, the teacher-education programmes embarked on an innovative and integrated approach to technology known as "design technology". As will be argued later these conflicting approaches to technical subjects have profound implications for the way pupils perceive and relate to diversified programmes in the schools.

The sorts of factors highlighted above indicate that project design engendered certain weaknesses which evidently militated against attainment of the diversification objectives. Similarly project implementation involved anomalies, inconsistencies and inadequacies which reduced the chances of achieving the desired outcomes of diversification. For instance Technical and Commercial equipment supplied to some schools remained in packing cases for one or two years because the skilled manpower for installing them was lacking in these schools. At the same time some schools which had the necessary manpower were either not allocated as much equipment as they required or failed to receive equipment promised to them.(27) Again most of the equipment supplied to schools soon became non-functional because there was no provision for maintenance and repairs. Similarly, no provision was made for regular and reliable supply of consumable materials (wood, metal, commercial stationery, etc) to the schools, and the shortage of such materials soon resulted in excessive teaching of "theory" for subjects which were supposed to be pre-eminently practical. Most importantly perhaps, schools were left largely to their own devices in the matter of what was to be taught as part of a diversified curriculum. The number and combination of "diversified subjects" offered varied widely from school to school and no guidance or assistance was provided to help schools develop suitable content for each of these subject areas.(28) It is particularly significant to note that while this gross neglect of curriculum development in Technical and Commercial subjects was being manifested, substantial expertise and resources was being invested in curriculum development for Mathematics, English, Science, and Social Studies, under the same project.(29)

It is fair to indicate that many of these negative features pertaining to project design and implementation were recognised within the project and remedial measures proposed accordingly. Unfortunately most of these remedial measures failed to move beyond the proposal stage. Thus the idea of incorporating "installation and maintenance services" into equipment supply contracts remained just an idea; proposals for a "mobile maintenance unit" to service and repair equipment in project schools were not acted upon; and plans for establishing a centralised system for bulk purchase, storage and distribution of consumable materials to schools remained on the drawing board.(30)

The fact that so many negative aspects of project design and implementation have been highlighted does not imply that nothing good resulted from the diversification project. Undoubtedly there were some success stories and much was achieved by Sierra Leoneans, World Bank Officials and external specialists working under adverse conditions to effect rather ambitious changes in a complex education system. In outlining these negative features therefore the concern of this paper is not to minimise project achievements but rather to focus attention on the significant gap existing between policy ideals and the practicalities of project design and implementation. Given such a situation it would seem that the important question to be addressed by evaluative studies is not so much whether diversification has failed or succeeded, but the extent to which diversification has in fact been given a chance to become operative. Where

such a fundamental issue relating to the diversification project has not been satisfactorily explored, it would be most premature to make pronouncements on the efficacy of the diversification policy! The extent to which diversification has been given a chance to work can only be assessed through an insightful study of the way diversification operates in the school system.

4. Diversification In Practice

As in most African countries the idea of vocationalising education has a long history in Sierra Leone, dating back to the colonial era. It is a history which has been characterised on one hand by an enthusiastic acceptance of the self-evident need for vocationalisation,(31) and on the other by considerable antipathy towards vocationalisation as an attempt to channel some pupils into preparation for low-status occupations. This antipathy was particularly strong in the political context of the colonial era, but it has also been clearly evident in more subtle forms during the post-independence era. At the heart of the matter is a fundamental contradiction between the aspirations of pupils (and their parents) who regard education as a means of upward mobility to "high status" occupations, and the popular perception of vocationalisation as preparation for "low status" occupations. Thus while training for certain occupational levels is regarded by African Governments (and colonial regimes before them) as crucial for national development, the use of the formal school system for this purpose is generally in conflict with the perceptions and occupational aspirations of the school population. Against this background it could be argued that important historical lessons have not been learnt, hence there

was a naive assumption that secondary school pupils in Sierra Leone would somehow react positively to subjects like Woodwork, Metalwork, Typing, Cookery, etc, because of the facilities and equipment provided or because of Government exhortation about the importance of such subjects for national development. Optimism about a positive response from pupils could only be justified if strategies have been worked out for influencing pupils aspirations towards an acceptance of occupations related to these subjects, or if efforts have been made to develop diversified programmes which will not be perceived by pupils as being preparation for "low-status" occupations. Both of these options are complex and difficult to pursue in practice since they require substantial understanding of the factors influencing pupils aspirations, perceptions, etc, insight into the manner in which diversification becomes operative in different school settings, and appreciation of viable alternatives relating to the structure and organisation of diversified curricula. It is only when these and related issues have been properly explored that we can begin to understand how diversification can be made to work in different school situations, and then go on to make sensible pronouncements about the efficacy of a diversification policy for African countries such as Sierra Leone.

4.1. Institutional factors

The up-take and operationalisation of curriculum diversification in a school are strongly influenced by several institutional factors. In particular up-take appears to be influenced by a number of inter-related factors which can be amalgamated within the concept of "institutional ethos". This concept embraces

factors ranging from the philosophy and objectives underlying the establishment of the school, its present development goals etc, to the historical traditions cherished values and ceremonial rituals of the school. Thus a strong degree of up-take was evident in schools which were originally established for more pragmatic purposes than the mere pursuit of academic work,(32) even though these schools may have changed over the years to become highly academic in their orientation. Again where such schools laid a strong emphasis on "work ethic" and the "dignity of labour" there was appreciable up-take of the diversification project.(33) Invariably these schools already had a tradition in which "vocational" subjects constituted an integral part of the curriculum.(34) In contrast, schools which were originally established as prestigeous academic institutions geared towards preparation for higher education, showed poor up-take of diversification.(35) Indeed the history and traditions of these schools indicate that vocational-type subjects have either been non-existent or have had an uneasy and precarious existence in the curriculum.(36)

Obviously diversification standa a better chance of being successfully implemented in schools which have a good degree of up-take, but there is more to implementing diversification than the level of up-take shown by a school. Consideration has to be given to such important factors as the way diversified subjects are organised and structured within the school curriculum, the number and quality of staff available to teach these subjects, and the resources available in terms of facilities, equipment and materials. It is a combination of such

factors that determines the extent to which a school can successfully operationalise a diversified curriculum. In some schools for instance the structure and organisation of programmes is such that every pupil must take at least one diversified subject during the first 3 years (lower secondary level)of their schooling. Some schools go even further by providing specialised streams at the upper secondary level (forms 4 and 5) for pupils who may wish to specialise in Technical subjects or Home Economics or Commercial studies, etc. At the other extreme the structure and organisation of programmes in some schools is such that a pupil could go through secondary education without having to take even a single diversified subject at any point.(37) This sort of situation trivialises diversified subjects and makes them rather peripheral to the main business of schooling. Essentially then the pattern of organisation and structure of the school curriculum determines the opportunities available for pupils to participate in diversified subjects, and also reveals the importance which a school attaches to these subjects. On this basis it can be argued that some of the project schools in Sierra Leone attached surprisingly little importance to diversified subjects, inspite of their frequent pronouncements to the contrary, and also provided rather restrictive opportunities for pupils to participate in these subjects.

As regards staffing for diversification, schools in Sierra Leone have always suffered from an acute shortage of qualified and trained teachers in Technical and Commercial subject. This has meant for instance that schools have had to use poorly qualified craftsmen to teach Technical subjects. Apart from their

lack of pedagogical and communication skills, such teachers are themselves examples of the "low-status" occupations towards which pupils have shown considerable antipathy. This obviously has an important effect on the status of these teachers in the schools, which in turn influences the regard which pupils have for technical subjects. However since the establishment of training facilities for Technical, Secretarial and Business Studies teachers at Milton Margai Teachers College there are signs that the status of these teachers is on the ascendancy. This might well have a positive impact on the way in which pupils perceive and respond to diversified subjects.

An undoubtedly crucial aspect of curriculum diversification concerns the availability of facilities, equipment and materials for teaching diversified subjects. Because of the high costs involved in providing these elements it is often assumed that lack of such resources constitutes the major obstacle to successful diversification.(38) The reality in Sierra Leone schools however indicates that there is much more to diversification than the provision of workshops equipment and materials, since these resources sometimes become little more than "white elephants" in project schools. To the extent however that such resources are indispensable, many schools which have some capacity for utilising them effectively have always been constrained by inadequacies of such resources and the recurrent-cost burden of maintaining equipment and providing consumable resources. In this regard the Government's allocation of funds to schools does

not include special provision for these recurrent costs,(39) despite the professed importance attached to diversified subjects. This again raises the disturbing question of how far hard-pressed African economies can meet the inevitable recurrent costs emanating from the implementation of high-capital projects such as curriculum diversification. It is becoming increasingly evident that many such projects experience a downward spiral once large-scale external funding ends. This trend has significant implications for the role of large-scale externally-funded projects in the realisation of educational policy objectives.

4.2. Pupil-related issues

All the resources and logistical provisions made in support of diversification would be in vain without the positive participation of pupils in the related subjects. A salient lesson from the history of vocationalisation efforts in Sierra Leone is that it is futile to chanel pupils into a situation where they become unwilling captives in diversified programmes or vocational subjects. The end result can be "counter-productive" as was pointed out by one of Sierra Leone's leading Professional Engineers in the following observation -

> "The late Mr Edmondson laboured long and valiantly at the Diocesan Technical School to train young men in Carpentry, Drafting and Surveying. It is to the credit of the training he gave that some of his young men later became Barristers, Doctors and Physician Specialists in Government services, and Clergymen in the service of God."(40)

Taking the lessons of history into serious consideration then, it is imperative for the success of diversification that

proper insight should be developed into the factors influencing the way in which pupils perceive and respond to diversified subjects. It is only on the basis of such insight that strategies can be worked out for promoting positive pupil participation in these subjects. In this regard it is commonly believed that most pupils hold vocational-type subjects in such low esteem that if they had a free choice they would refuse to take these subjects. A survey of pupils in sample project schools did not quite confirm the validity of this belief for the Sierra Leone situation. Pupils' subject preferences were elicited by asking them to list the first four subjects they would choose to study if they had a free choice, and the first four subjects they would reject or refuse to study under the same conditions. The responses indicated that pupils were strongly aware of the subject combinations needed for a good pass in the West African G.C.E. 'O' Level examinations. Thus English Language and Mathematics which are compulsory for these exams were listed by all pupils amongst the first four subjects they would freely choose to study. Beyond this, other chosen subjects mainly reflected pupils bias towards Science or Arts streams. The occurence of Technical subjects was negligible in both the list of subjects pupils said they would freely choose to study and those they would refuse to study. This raises doubts about the commonly held belief that pupils would reject subjects like Woodwork and Metalwork if they had a free choice. Indeed what was most significant about pupils responses was the high frequency with which Business Studies subjects were listed

amongst subjects which pupils would freely choose to study.[41] It could therefore be concluded that pupils in the sample schools do not appear to have any obvious bias against studying diversified subjects as such.

Another common belief is that most pupils have a negative attitude to vocational-type subjects in the schools. The responses to a carefully constructed attitude questionnaire administered in sample project schools, revealed that this was simply not true. For the 30-item questionnaire the maximum possible score was 150 (most positive attitude), while the minimum possible score was 30 (most negative attitude). Given this maximum and minimum possible scores, table 1 indicates that the mean attitude score (M) for all technical subjects is fairly high in the sample schools concerned. This shows that on average there is a positive attitude towards all technical subjects amongst pupils in the sample schools. Interestingly however, the responses also indicated a consistent hierarchy in pupils attitudes, with Technical Drawing having the highest mean score, followed by Metalwork and then Woodwork. Moreover there was a much stronger correlation between scores for Metalwork and Woodwork ($r = +0.84$) than for Metalwork and Technical Drawing ($r = 0.57$) or Woodwork and Technical Drawing ($r = 0.46$). This seems to suggest that pupils have a more favourable attitude towards Technical Drawing because they perceive it as being somehow different from and preferable to Metalwork and Woodwork.[42] What is most significant however is that the responses from sample project schools indicate clearly that pupils do not have a negative attitude to technical subjects.

Table 1:- Summary Statistics of Attitude Scores

Sample School	Mean Scores and (Standard Deviations)		
	T. D.	W. W.	M. W.
Albert Academy (n = 35)	113.69 (10.74)	108.70 (13.63)	110.37 (14.12)
Prince of Wales School (n = 50)	-	107.40 (7.35)	107.58 (11.53)
Bishop Johnson Memorial School (n = 32)	-	109.94 (13.00)	112.88 (10.39)
Magburaka Secondary School for Boys (n = 50)	-	110.60 (7.23)	118.57 (8.97)
Schlenker Secondary School (n = 38)	-	103.37 (13.80)	-
Bumpe High School (n = 44)	106.23 (12.50)	105.15 (12.84)	-

T. D. - Technical Drawing
W. W. - Woodwork
M. W. - Metalwork

Generally then there was an emerging picture in which pupils had a fairly positive attitude to technical subjects and had no evident bias against taking diversified subjects in school. Yet interviews with teachers and school administrators revealed a persistent allegation that pupils "look down" on technical subjects or do not take these subjects seriously for some reason. Further investigations suggested that pupils antipathy for technical subjects becomes manifest in the context of career aspirations and expectations of schooling. Much has been written about the unrealistic career aspirations of secondary school pupils in Africa, to the extent that it has become something of a stereo-type or cliche rather than something to be sensitively explored in the changing social and economic climate which is imposing a ne w sense of realism in Africa. Empathetic investigations in the Sierra Leone context revealed that pupils career aspirations operate at two levels which could be termed idealistic and realistic. At the idealistic level when pupils are simply asked what job they would like "at the end of all their education", the occupations most frequently stated are prestigeous ones such as medical doctor, lawyer, scientist, economist, etc. Two caveats to this general trend are worth mentioning. In some schools which are not particularly renowned for academic excellence pupils sometimes opted for less prestigeous career aspirations (teacher, nurse, preacher) even at this idealistic level. Secondly, at one school which has a highly successful Business Studies programme and a well developed technical stream, the two most frequently occuring career aspirations were Accountant and Engineer. Almost all the pupils who wished to be Accountants had also listed Business Studies subjects amongst the first four subjects they would choose to study if they were given a free choice. However most of the pupils wishing to

become Engineers did not include technical subjects amongst the first four subjects they would freely choose to study. The significance of this will be discussed later.

Following this idealistic selection of career aspirations it was decided to find out whether pupils were aware of what was really involved in achieving such prestigeous career aspirations. They were therefor e asked to state the qualifications they felt they needed to obtain the job being aspired to. The responses revealed that pupils had a highly inflated perception of academic qualifications required for these prestigeous occupations, with a doctorate degree being more frequently mentioned than professional qualifications or practical training. Thus pupils not only aspire towards highly prestigeous career occupations, but also perceive a university qualification as an essential requirement for entry to such occupations.

Against this background certain constraints on pupils in relation to their career aspirations were extensively discussed. For instance it was pointed out to pupils in some schools that the poor track record of the school in G.C.E. examination results, and the negligible number of pupils who qualify for entry to university each year, made it very unlikely that most of them would acquire the high academic qualifications they felt necessary for their prestigeous career aspirations. With these sorts of contraints in mind pupils were asked what would be their

next choice of job if they failed to get the qualifications necessary for the first choice of occupation. It emerged from the responses that pupils career aspirations operate at a realistic level which is often not revealed on initial questioning. In making a second choice of job most pupils were realistic enough to accept a downward shift in their original career aspirations (e.g. from Accountant to Office Clerk).

What is perhaps most significant about pupils career aspirations is its intimate link with pupils perception of what school is for and their expectations of what can be got out of schooling. Indications from the Sierra Leone situation imply that most pupils career aspirations (idealistic or realistic) are such that they entail some form of post-secondary education as a pre-requisite for job entry. Consequently the predominant perception amongst pupils is that secondary schools serve to prepare them for post-secondary education. This was readily borne out when pupils were asked to indicate what they would like to do after completing their secondary education. (Table 2)

Pupils general expectations of schooling was probed by asking them to select from a list of positive outcomes, those which they regard as being the most important outcomes of schooling. The most frequently selected outcomes are indicated in Table 3, and they indicate a complex concern with high earnings and high status, strongly undergirded by a desire to please and reward parents or relatives. Pupils can therefore be expected

to value highly those aspects of schooling which they perceive as contributing to the possibilities for high earnings or high status in the future. Conversely pupils will pay little attention to aspects of schooling which they regard as detracting from such possibilities. Thus when pupils were given a list of negative outcomes and asked to select those which they regarded as the most disappointing outcomes of schooling, the most frequently selected ones were quite predictable as indicated in Table 4.

Generally then the evidence suggests that because pupils have rather prestigeous career aspirations, and because they envisage that school will prepare them for a future in which they would enjoy high earnings and high status, pupils tend to value aspects of schooling which they perceive as contributing to such a future and to neglect or be indifferent to those aspects which detract from it. Thus if pupils regard subjects like Woodwork and Metalwork as leading to low-status and low-earning occupations, it should hardly be surprising if they do not take such subjects seriously. Indeed when pupils were asked to state which subjects they paid least attention to and to indicate why, the range of subjects included Metalwork and Woodwork. More importantly however, by far the most frequent reason given for paying so little attention to these subjects is that they are not important for the pupils future studies/career.

Table 2:- What Pupils Wish to do After Completing School (Form 5)

OPTIONS	Percentage Response According to School					
	A. A.	P. O. W.	B.J.M.S.	S. S. S.	M.S.S.B.	B. H. S.
1. Get a job in a Government Department	20	2	12.5	18.4	6	20.5
2. Try to start own business	5.7	10	9.4	0	2	0
3. Go to college or University	57.1	86	37.5	68.4	60	50
4. Get a job with Private Companies or Firms	2.9	2	0	2.6	0	0
5. Learn a trade at a Trade Centre	0	0	6.3	2.6	4	9.1
6. Go to a Technical Institute	14.3	0	34.4	7.9	28	20.5

Table 3:- Outcomes of School which Pupils Regard as Most Important

Positive Outcome	Percentage Frequency of selection According to School					
	A. A.	P.O.W.	B.J.M.S.	S.S.S.	M.S.S.B.	B.H.S.
1. Earning a high salary to repay your parents and family	88.6	74	78.1	76.3	80	81.8
2. Becoming someone your parents and relatives could be proud of	68.6	78	34.4	23.7	78	63.3
3. Being able to go to College or University	60	64	31.3	76.3	66	63.3
4. Becoming an important person or leader in the community	51.4	48	62.5	71.1	70	81.8
5. Being able to understand what is happening in the world	57.1	48	56.3	31.6	32	31.8
6. Getting a decent job with good pay	57.1	46	34.3	52.6	34	52.3

Table 4:- Outcomes of Schooling which Pupils Regard as Most Disappointing

Negative Outcomes	Percentage Frequency of Selection According to School					
	A. A.	P.O.W.	B.J.M.S.	S.S.S.	M.S.S.B.	B.H.S.
1. Being unable to enter College or University	82.9	88	31.3	84.2	78	86.4
2. Being unable to get a high paid job	82.9	48	81.3	89.5	70	77.3
3. Being unable to obtain a good certificate	57.1	62	87.5	65.8	76	61.4
4. Being unable to get any job at all	85.7	62	62.5	63.2	70	61.4
5. Failing to do as well as your parents and relatives expect	77.1	70	75	31.6	64	52.3

4.3. Curriculum factors

In African countries such as Sierra Leone the school curriculum is under considerable pressure from different sources which sometimes make conflicting demands. Planners tend to give priority to national development needs and the role education is expected to play in meeting such needs. The diversification of secondary curriculum is obviously a case in point. Beyond this however it is also important that in terms of its objectives, structure and content, the curriculum must reflect cognisance of the complex and changing forms of human knowledge. Finally, what is most important but often paid mere lip service, is that the curriculum must be responsive to the aspirations of pupils and their parents.

Against this background it can be argued firstly that diversified programmes in secondary schools reflect a major orientation towards the role of education in national development. To this end the important question to be raised is the extent to which diversified programmes can turn out the calibre of trained or trainable manpower required for socio-economic development. While there was no systematic attempt to match diversified programmes to needs indicated by a manpower survey for instance, it could be argued that diversification does not require such a close fit and that the spread of diversified programmes (Technical, Business, Secretarial, Home Economics, Agriculture) was sufficiently wide to cover major areas of socio-economic manpower needs. Essentially then the diversified curriculum was well founded in terms of the contribution that an otherwise general secondary education system could make to manpower development.

Secondly in terms of the changing forms of human knowledge a major criticism of diversified programmes is that they largely reflect an adherence to traditional and often archaic content and structure, which have little relevance to the Sierra Leone context.(43) This is particularly true of the technical subjects where the craftsmen engaged as teachers are left to their own devices and continue to teach Woodwork and Metalwork in the age-old tradition of manual crafts, oblivious of the major changes which have transformed studies in this area to a "design technology" approach.(44) In these circumstances pupils are simply taught the rudiments of workshop practices and spend most of their time making minor artefacts or assisting the teacher to make and repair school furniture.

Many school administrators understandably encourage such a state of affairs, and regard it as an indication of success if some pupils develop reasonably proficiency in making chairs, tables and beds etc for the school (and the staff). It could well be asked however whether such proficiency is best acquired in the context of a general secondary education or more appropriately catered for in vocational/trade schools and through apprenticeships in suitable workshops. For one thing diversification itself does not entail making pupils into skilled craftsmen, and it would be self-deluding anyway to assume that such an objective could be pursued in 2 periods a week over a few years. Yet it is difficult to see what other conceivable objective is

being pursued under the traditional manual craft approach, beyond the bland contention of introducing pupils to manual skills and teaching them to appreciate the dignity of manual labour.

With the new breed of technical teachers there is some hope that the Technical studies curriculum can be transformed to reflect a more relevant and effective approach involving a twin focus on design and technology. This approach is not only epistemologically viable in itself but also creates much more tangible links between technical studies and other school disciplines. Amongst other things it entails a scientific understanding of Forces, Materials, and Processes as a basis for problem formulation and problem-solving in the design process. It also involves the development of design communication skills using the "language of technology" (Technical Drawing). Beyond this of course there is strong emphasis on the development of practical skills involving the use of various materials (wood, metal, plastic, etc) in the practical realisation of a design solution. In their attempt to transform the technical studies curriculum the new teachers face formidable opposition from craftsmen who have become entrenched as teachers, as well as administrators who are far more appreciative of the material products of these craftsmen than any educational impact on pupils.

Finally it needs to be asked how far the diversified curriculum meets the aspirations of pupils and their parents. It is in this regard that one can fully understand the relative neglect of technical subjects by pupils. In principle the traditional manual craft approach to these subjects is not only

oriented towards preparation for low-status occupations, but effectively inhibits the possibilities for higher education and high-status jobs. In their present state, Woodwork and Metalwork are not even countenanced by the university as entry qualifications for Engineering courses or any other courses. While most pupils are ready to accept that they may not succeed in entering university or achieving their prefered career aspirations, they are not necessarily willing to forfeit the opportunity to have a go at these objectives. Pupils who study Biology and Chemistry at school with the aim of becoming medical doctors may not gain entrance to university and may in fact end up being laboratory assistants, junior workers in the pharmaceutical industries, or something unconnected with Biology and Chemistry. What is significant for such pupils however is that they did have a go at their career aspirations and had a chance to prove to themselves that their Biology or Chemistry, etc was not good enough . In contrast pupils who take Woodwork and Metalwork at school know that these subjects "lead nowhere" inspite of so much talk about their importance in professions like Engineering, Architecture and Forestry, etc. Pupils are fully aware that it is subjects like Physics, Mathematics and Chemistry which provide entry to university Engineering cources, NOT Woodwork or Metalwork. Thus pupils may well have a liking for Woodwork or Metalwork, and may well acquire an appreciation for the dignity of manual labour, but when it comes to their career aspirations they would invariably wish to keep their chances alive by concentrating on other subjects!

5. Diversification Re-examined

As a policy concerned with enhancing educations contributions to manpower development, the diversification of secondary education was well-founded and properly conceived. The two major factors which originally served to justify a diversification policy are still very much in force in contemporary Sierra Leone, and have probably become more intensified. Firstly Sierra Leone still suffers from an acute shortage of manpower for industrialisation and modernisation. This can readily be appreciated from the mediocrity prevailent in manufacturing and other modern sector services, as well as in the Agricultural sector, Government Administration and most parastatals. The fact that economic growth has not been sufficient to generate employment opportunities is quite another matter, and it is extremely foolish to infer from a shortage of employment opportunities that a policy of diversification is inopportune in any way. Secondly the secondary school curriculum in Sierra Leone is still overwhelmingly "academic" in its orientation and therefore continues to offer a rather narrow range of knowledge and skills in relation to further studies and career possibilities. Significantly this is still the case at a time when the usual safe havens for employment (Government Departments and Parastatals) have become over saturated. Against this background it is difficult to understand how the policy of curriculum diversification could conceivably be regarded by anyone as being inappropriate or inpportune for a country like Sierra Leone. As a project seeking to promote the establishment of "diversified subjects" as an integral part of the curriculum in

secondary schools, curriculum diversification was poorly designed and badly implemented. This is nothing unusual since as far as major educational projects in Africa are concerned success stories are few and far between. Poor design and bad implementation do not necessarily add up to failure, but they do indicate that strategies could have been improved on and importantly also that resources could have been more efficiently deployed and more effectively utilised. However it is evaluated there can be little doubt that the diversification project has made a significant impact on Sierra Leone's education system. For almost a decade it concentrated the thoughts, skills and resources of Sierra Leoneans on trying to make diversification work. Throughout this period it also provided substantial input of external expertise and resources, afforded a healthy dialogue on educational priorities and strategies in Sierra Leone, as well as sponsoring an impressive range of essential overseas training for Sierra Leoneans. Most importantly the diversification project provided a singularly important catalyst for the on-going process of diversification which in a sense has been in existence since the colonial period.

As a practice dating back to the colonial period diversification has experienced a considerable boost since the formal policy was enunciated in 1970. An unprecedented input of buildings, equipment and materials has substantially improved the practice in some schools while enabling others to take on the challenge of diversification in a manner they could not have afforded under normal conditions. The practice has also been greatly enhanced by the establishment of teacher education facilities and programmes in diversified subject areas. However much remains to

be done by way of developing responsive diversified programmes which can be properly structured and organised within the school curriculum. In this regard there are important lessons to be learnt from the diversification project and subsequent developments in project schools.

There can be no doubt that Business Studies subjects are now very popular, eagerly chosen and enthusiastically pursued by an increasing number of secondary pupils. This is a phenomenal change from the situation even ten or fifteen years ago when pupils with "low academic ability" were being channelled to commercial streams where they studied Business and Secretarial subjects. Yet, there is nothing dramatically new or radically different in the Business Studies curriculum or the way in which Business Studies subjects are taught. What has happened in fact is that in a period of economic decline the Business sector has increasingly become the main area of major employment, and is certainly the only sector which can still afford to pay lucrative salaries. Educational institutions with well-developed Business Studies programmes have been able to capitalise on this phenomenon. Thus for instance pupils from the Albert Academy who take a certificate in Business Studies in place of the usual G.C.E. 'A' Level subjects are very much in demand and now commend higher salaries than most university graduates. Moreover it is noe becoming clear that such qualifications as the Certificate in Business Studies provide significant advantages in further professional courses leading to the A.C.C.A., A.C.A., A.I.B., etc. Consequently, not only do we have a situation in

which Business Studies subjects are highly popular amongst the brightest pupils in a school like Albert Academy, but there are increasing incidents of bright pupils from some of the other leading secondary schools transfering to a school like the Albert Academy, in order to study Business Studies subjects. There could hardly be a more fitting testimony to the success of diversification when the pieces finally fall into place. In this case the success is largely externally induced in the sense that changes in the economy, employment opportunities and earnings pattern have resulted in a phenomenal change in pupils perception of Business Studies subjects.

In the case of technical subjects, we do not have to wait for such an external eventuality, although it would be most welcome when it does occur. The solution meanwhile appears to be largely in promoting enthusiastic pupil participation, coupled with improving the logistics of operationalising curriculum diversification. A sober start is being made in this direction now that the euphoria of a major project has faded. Curriculum planners, teacher educators, and some of the experienced new-breed of technical teachers have already done substantial work on developing an integrated technical studies curriculum for Form 1 to Form 3, involving the "design technology" approach.(45) Also, there are plans to develop a curriculum for specialist studies in design technology up to the 5th Form, which would be acceptable for entry to university. Such a programme of technical studies leading to university courses would hopefully transform pupils perception of technical subjects in a healthy way. Those

who enter university courses in Engineering, Architecture, etc would be much better prepared than the current catchment of students who have only studied Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry. Pupils who do not succeed in entering university would still do well in Technical Institutes and Trade Centres or simply as technologically literate employees. There are also hopes that the ideas of a mobile maintenance unit and a central purchasing/storage system would become operational sometime in the future. It is quite ironic that all of this now has to be attempted without the benefit of external funding which seemed to be so readily available for all sorts of abstruce uses during the project years. But then diversification is such an important educational goal with such profound implications for national development that we must do the best we can with our limited resources. Most importantly we cannot afford to be discouraged or side-tracked into pursuing new panaceas by those who can afford to play a game of fashion with issues so crucial to our future. The story of curriculum diversification in Sierra Leone is as much about unexplored potentials and under-utilised opportunities, as it is about unfulfilled promises and unrealised expectations.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This is the main impression one gets from the major World Bank study of diversification in Columbia and Tanzania.
Psachoropoulos, G. and Loxley, W;
Diversified Secondary Education and Development: Evidence from Columbia and Tanzania
Baltimore; John Hopkins University Press, 1985

2. The first pronouncement on education by Sierra Leone's new President highlighted the important need for vocationalisation in the interest of national development.

3. A policy becomes latent when everyone insists it is still important but no one is willing to invest resources in its implementation any longer.

4. IDA Education Project Implementation Unit
"Sierra Leone/IDA Education Project Information Notes"

5. Sierra Leone Government
White Paper on Educational Policy - 1970
Freetown, Government of Sierra Leone, 1970.

6. This rather simplistic functionalist interpretation often absolves funding agencies and attributes failures to problematic characteristics of the recipient country's education system.

7. Wright, C.A.H. "Curriculum Diversification in Sierra Leone as a Basis for a Theory of Educational Innovation"
Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1984.

8. c.f. Harbison, F.H. Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations
New York, Oxford University Press, 1973

9. Sierra Leone Government
Education and Economic Development in Sierra Leone: An interim report of the Education Planning Group
Freetown, Government of Sierra Leone, 1961.

10. Sierra Leone Government
The Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone (1964 - 1970)
"The Sleight Report"
Freetown, Government of Sierra Leone, 1964

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid (see preface - statement by the Government)

13. International Development Agency (World Bank)
"Project Performance Audit Memorandum; Sierra Leone First Education Project (CR 170 - SL)." p. 1
(Restricted Circulation)

14. International Development Agency (World Bank)
"Project Completion Report; Sierra Leone First Education Project (CR 170 - SL) P. A6
(Restricted Circulation)

15. International Development Agency (World Bank)
"Project Performance Audit Memorandum; Sierra Leone First Education Project (CR 170 - SL)." p. 1
(Restricted Circulation)

16. International Development Agency (World Bank)
"Project Completion Report; Sierra Leone First Education Project (CR 170 - SL) P. A6
(Restricted Circulation)

17. Ibid

18. As in the case of the study on Columbia and Tanzania.

19. It is quite probable that at the time Sierra Leoneans did not interprete the policy in these terms, but their position logically implies such an interpretation.

20. Sierra Leone Government
The Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone (1964 - 1970)
"The Sleight Report
Freetown, Government of Sierra Leone, 1964

21. Wright, C.A.H. Op. Cit. p. 114

22. Second Sierra Leone/IDA Education Project (Sierra Leone II)
Drafting Working Papers (W.P.)

23. International Development Agency (World Bank)
"Project Completion Report; Sierra Leone First Education
Project (CR 170 - SL) p. A2.

24. Wright, C.A.H. Op. Cit. p. 118

25. King, K; "Education and Self-Employment"
in Education, Work and Employment - II
Paris, UNESCO, I.I.E.P., 1980. p. 219 - 283

26. International Development Agency (World Bank)
"Project Completion Report; Sierra Leone First Education
Project (CR 170 - SL) p. A.10

27. Wright, C.A.H.
Situational Analysis of Technical and Commercial Education in
Sierra Leone (p. 16)
(Report on a series of surveys undertaken by staff of the
Technical and Business Education Department between
September 1977 and April 1979)
Freetown, Milton Margai Teachers College, May 1979.

28. Adams, S; Sengova, T; and Wright,C
"Diversification in Existing Secondary Schools - Interim
Completion Report No. 3" (Draft) p. 4
Evaluation of Second Sierra Leone/IDA Education Project
(Credit 573 - SL)
Prepared for the IDA Education Project Unit, Freetown, 1983
(Restricted Circulation)

29. This was part of the compromise Sierra Leoneans were able to
win from the Bank regarding their own priorities for improvement
of "academic" curricula.

30. Most of these proposals were repeatedly submitted to project officials without any serious response.

31. This enthusiasm for vocationalisation has been particularly noticeable in periods of economic depression when unemployment becomes a major problem.

32. For instance the Albert Academy was established by a Missionary Society to prepare young people for Mission work and community development.

33. Albert Academy and Bumpe High Schools are major examples.

34. There is a long tradition of vocational subjects being successfully implemented at both Albert Academy and Bumpe High School.

35. Prince of Wales School for instance was established as a Government school to promote science and prepare those who would go on to become doctors and engineers.
c.f. Sumner, D.L. Education in Sierra Leone
Government of Sierra Leone, Freetown, 1963.

36. This is particularly true of the Prince of Wales School where efforts have continuously been made since 1935 to incorporate a viable technical studies programme into the curriculum without success.
see Sumner, D.L. Op. Cit. p. 378

37. Wright, C.A.H. et. al
"The Politics of Streaming and Subject Choice"
Interim Research Paper Series
CREST Research Centre, Milton Margai Teachers College, 1983

38. This is probably the Bank's major rationale for emphasising Buildings and Equipment at the expense of curriculum development and teacher training.

39. Schools are funded mainly on a formula involving enrolment size but ignoring the range of programmes offered and the recurrent cost implications of vocational subjects.

40. Davies, Edward J. "Problems of Educating and Training the Sierra Leonean Engineer of Today".
in Thomas, Kosonike (ed) Co-ordination of Engineering Activity for Progress in a Developing Country
Freetown, Fourah Bay College Bookshop, 1968. p. 18 - 29 (see p. 19).

41. There has been a phenomenal rise in the popularity of Business Studies subjects at both secondary and post-secondary levels. This is a phenomenon which needs to be more fully studied in relation to economic and employment trends.

42. A similar hierarchy in pupils attitude towards different technical subjects has been reported for Kenya by Langlo.
Langlo, Jon; Practical Subjects in Kenyan Academic Secondary Schools (General Report)
Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Education Division documents, No. 20

43. These subjects are surprisingly much more dependent on foreign books and curricula than the so-called academic subjects. This might well be due to the shortage of competent curriculum specialists in these areas.

44. c.f. Dodd, Tom; Design and Technology in the School Curriculum
London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1978.

45. The reluctance to invest in diversification efforts is such that funds to pay a token honorarium for these curriculum development activities have still not been approved by Government.